

^S
SR /379 cont. /

369 and at Diakhaté where the hut of straw or purely of mud
[342] prevails. Could it be that the occupation of mason to which
W some None seem to devote themselves is a factor in this
[342] modernization of their settlements?

SR
[463] A certain "coquetry" absent in the bush villages leads
[351] some autochthones to lay out a little flower garden near their
hut (Tiali, Keur-Issa-Bambara)..

^S
369 The presence of the city is also reflected in the equip-
352 ment used by the rural people. The furniture is always sum-
[513] mary, but more and more the iron bed is replacing the lat-
tice of wood or the mat put on the ground itself. A mattress,
a military blanket, and commonly a mosquito net of a very
light fabric complete this relative comfort. Often a little
table of unpainted wood, a chair made of old boxes, a bit
of mirror hung on the wall, and sometimes an impressive
[353] number of photographs, or, lacking them, pages cut out of
an illustrated magazine pasted to the walls, give a special
stamp to this interior, which is no longer typically rural.
Sometimes one even has the surprise of encountering in
these modest interiors a wardrobe and a little buffet, which
adorn, the more since they are not utilized, the room of a
privileged native. But this comfort is an exception.

^S
369 The calabash, which is the very foundation of the
415 kitchen utensils, is still commonly utilized for household
tasks and for the common meals. Nevertheless the cast-iron
or aluminum saucepan is no longer a luxury; the glass and
above all the bottle are in common use.

^S
369 The clothing, too, has been modified. The loincloth
291 in bright colors, laboriously woven by the Toucouleur
177 /Tukolor/ weaver, durable but expensive, has become a
luxury. Imported printed cloth of moderate price has sup-
planted it everywhere. The white robe with embroidery has
[292] become the festive garment par excellence; the shorts, the
trousers, and the jacket, often furnished by the European,
are now the clothes utilized for work.

^S
SR /381 cont. /

³⁶⁹
[162] inhabitants. These three villages are located less than two kilometers from the first urban quarters, consequently a favorable location for the daily departure of workers for the escale.

^S
SR The ethnic composition of these agglomerations, despite
³⁶⁹
[162] the urban proximity (favorable for the mixing of peoples), has remained homogeneous. At Sapko there is no foreign element; at Tiali two Wolof and one Sérère-Sine were working there temporarily at the time of the time of the inquiry; by contrast, nearly a tenth of the population of Thiès-None is made up of individuals belonging to non-Sérère ethnic groups (Wolof, Toucouleur, Peul). A parallel must be drawn between this quite relative heterogeneity and the almost total Islamization of the locality. Nearly four-fifths of the population of Thiès-None has embraced this religion; Sapko and Tiali, by contrast, remain essentially Catholic or fetishistic, the Moslems living there generally being transient elements.

^S
SR A kind of self-defense by the Catholic group that lives
⁵⁸²
[794] in a region largely Islamized seems to be one of the primary reasons for this ethnic integrity. Under the influence of the fathers, who possess, it seems, a profound authority over every Christian agglomeration, marriages occur from None village to None village and between Catholics (1).

^S
SR 1. The woman seems to be the element
[77] through which the transition from the Catholic religion to the Moslem religion occurs. The young Christian who marries a Moslem no longer practices and quickly abjures her first religion; her children and the whole line will become Islamized under the paternal influence.

^S
SR /382/ An examination of the male and economically
¹⁶²
[369] active population of these three agglomerations gives the result that 38% of its elements have remained essentially

/401 cont. /

¹⁷⁸ occupation may be. Imported products appear only at breakfast:
 *²⁶²
 [264] bread, sweetened condensed milk, lumps of sugar. The other
 [439] two meals are still always composed of four products, rice,
 millet, fish, and meat, which may be combined in different
 ways, and a fifth that is always present, oil. The single element
 of diversity comes from the more or less great variety and the
 more or less great quantity of vegetables and manioc that are
 incorporated into the traditional dishes, and, of course, the
 skillful proportion of condiments of all sorts.

With a few exceptions (1), the study of the expenses of

1. The more important exceptions are Nos. 39 and 43. These two units of consumption have entirely adopted European food habits, and are otherwise not comparable with the others. This is why we neglect them a little on this point.

our families for food is very nearly limited, aside from bread, milk, and sugar, to a description of the variations ascertained in the consumption of these few essential products.

One can state that in general all of our families consume rice by liking and millet by necessity. Rice is the food of choice, millet entering in only when the financial situation of the family demands it, or in order all the same to provide a little variety.

²⁴³ Rice is 30 to 35% more expensive than millet. It is culti-
³¹¹ vated on a small scale in a few wet zones in the countryside
 [435] around Thiès, whereas millet grows nearly everywhere. The
 * [511] truly productive rice zones closest to Thiès are the Casamance
 to the south and the lower course of the Senegal to the north.
 On the east it appears only with the upper course of this river
 and in the region /402/ drained by the Niger and its tributaries,
 in Guinea, and in the Sudan. In reality, it is an imported
 *²⁶²
¹⁷⁷ product. The traditional diet of this region was primarily based
 on millet.

/415 cont. /

*511
263 Most of them are very close to the average. There is thus a kind of uniformity in the consumption of sugar, and it is probably that here, too, we are in the presence of an upper limit.

/416/ The portion of the income devoted to sugar is thus going to vary according to the size of the income and the composition of the unit of consumption. The maximum noted is 10% for No. 4, the minimum 0.3 for No. 43 (1.2 for No. 42).

*511
272
[177] The same uniformity does not exist for sweetened condensed milk. Its use is spreading more and more, but all the same there are ten families who do not consume it at all.

The average consumption was established, for one man, at 589 grams per month for the 43 families, at 767 if one eliminates those that do not consume any.

Fourteen families out of 33 are above this average, only four of whom are in the top of the table. And, as in the case of vegetables, these 24 families are precisely the least numerous. The largest theoretical composition of the unit of consumption among these 24 families is that of No. 38, 10.5. But this is for an income of 50,000 francs per month. The next maximum is 8.6 for No. 29. Here, too, the size of the unit of consumption is essential.

Twenty-seven families utilize fresh milk besides or to supplement the condensed milk. Only two did not consume either one. But this consumption of fresh milk is quite limited; the average, solely for the utilizers, is 1.1 liters. It is habitual in only one case, No. 42, where a liter is bought every day.

Moreover there is no periodicity anywhere. Fresh milk is therefore not used systematically for only breakfast. It is preferably utilized for the rice mush that many families like to eat in the afternoon. It is then reserved for women and children. This is the only point where we found a special diet for children, except from time to time when a mango or guava is bought solely for them.

[264]
[855]
[435] Fresh milk costs more proportionally than condensed milk: 40 francs a liter as against 40 francs for a case of 400 grams of Nestlé milk.

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178
preserve much of their prestige;¹ they are sometimes in diametrical opposition to the modernist elites and sometimes try to come to terms with them; occasionally, as the result of historical conditions, the two elites are closely interlocked.²

4. Types and degree of tension between the African modernist elites and the European groups. The latter occupy the position of ruling class in the whole community represented by each territorial unit. The conflict is fundamental, yet a balance, however temporary and precarious, between the two groups may sometimes be discerned, though it varies enormously in degree from one region to another and at different times.³

[68] The situation in Senegal, compared with that in other parts of French West Africa, exhibits certain special features. Senegal was the first of these territories to be colonized.⁴ At the beginning of the new phase which opened after the war, it had the largest number of educated and partly Westernized persons, and it has for several decades had a political life modelled on the West, though of a summary and limited character.⁵ At this level of political life, the course of events during the past 10 years affords us a first glimpse of regional divergencies. It is a significant fact that Senegal was not the first French West African territory in which a movement making political demands of some magnitude arose. The acute crises of the immediate post-war period developed elsewhere—in the Ivory Coast—with the founding and expansion of the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain, the first political party in French Africa (Black) with nationalistic tendencies. The Rassemblement Démocratique Africain never succeeded in establishing itself firmly in Senegal, either before or after its change of policy in the 1950's.⁶ There is no space here to describe in detail the historical and social background of such events, though I shall have to refer to it several times later in this paper. Some of the basic traits will suffice for mention: aspects of the traditional structures, of contemporary economic development, of the schools' endeavour to promote assimilation.

[63] The principal racial groups inhabiting Senegal,⁷ whatever their cultural differences, and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has still by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organization. They were strictly graded societies divided into endogamous castes, each with its special economic, political, ritual and other functions. In the present context, inter-caste antagonisms and incompatibilities are as a rule more important than racial antagonisms, since several racial groups may have equivalent social gradings or one may have borrowed and adapted another's gradings.⁸ This is a fundamental feature; it indicates the framework within which we can explain the problem of relations between the traditional and the modernist elites. For instance, prestige due to education may be superimposed on prestige based on tradition, in particular prestige due to caste; or else the two may be completely separate.⁹ Even today a high

1. Either officially or more or less 'quasi-officially'.

2. E.g. in South Dahomey.

3. In the Ivory Coast, for example, a period of calm and co-operation followed when the Rassemblement Démocratique Africain dropped certain extreme claims.

4. Trade centres have existed for more than three centuries and the more specifically colonial period began more than a hundred years ago.

5. It had four municipalities with full privileges which sent a deputy to the French Parliament.

6. It broke off its alliances with the French Communist party.

7. The Oulof, the Toucouleur and the Serer.

8. The resistance of the traditional ruling strata to foreign influence explains why, in certain cases, the lower castes were the first to go to school.

369 problems arising from political activities. Cities founded in the slave-trade period have traits that distinguish them from the more recent colonial cities, and any discussion of Senegalese cities must take full account of such a distinction.

• [177] To be sure, "old cities" and "recent cities"¹ have one fundamental trait in common: both are entirely the products of external compulsion. In the rural districts, the controls introduced by the colonial power impinged on integrated, settled societies, whose solidarity and coherence often enabled them at least to check and moderate external influences, and to confine them to given channels. In the colonial cities, however, foreign activity itself created the framework in which it operated. Its principal effect was to bring together a conglomerate and poorly-integrated population, which from the outset was confronted by novel problems and upon which the agencies of change acted with maximum intensity. This condition is essential in the consideration of problems of political life in an urban milieu.

[P. 3 C]

The New Political Life

369 More importantly, the urban centers
668 deserve attention because of the role they
[177] have played in the development of a
radically new type of political life, one
whose forms have been largely borrowed
from outside Africa. The first attempts
at political organization and activity were
born in the cities. More recently some
political movements have appeared in a
rural context, as a reflection of rural con-
ditions, but they have drawn much of
their pattern from the cities, or from
among elements subject to urban influ-
ences.

369 The modern African city presents a
set of conditions favorable to the develop-
ment of especially intense political reac-
tions. The position of the colonizing
power is most sharply apparent in the
city, and the instruments of its power
are concentrated there. The rootless con-
dition of the African population seems at
its extreme; the masses that gather in
the city are unsettled, poorly established
in their occupations, and suffer from
[571] every form of insecurity. The new elites
created and shaped by urban life feel
restricted and disappointed in their de-
sires for social advancement and for a
share in authority and in modern symbols
of prestige.⁵ Finally, the city brings to-
gether a white society and a Negro
[563] society, though often clearly separated
by topography. In these circumstances
racial tensions can develop to their maxi-
mum. Moreover, they assume varied
aspects, e.g., competitive situations in
various spheres, official or unofficial dis-
crimination.⁶ Intense reactions to such
conditions may take no organized form
and may not manifest themselves except
after some delay, however. Here the

[P. 5A]

8:Mercier E-5 (ca. 1955) 1960 MS37 Senegal MS37

¹
41 At first these were merely decorated lanterns. The custom¹ certainly has a European origin; it is typical of the "old cities" of Senegal.

42 In 1954 the parades of "lanterns" were prohibited by administrative edict.

43 The results at Dakar and at Thiès cannot be compared in detail. However, the informative value of these general results could, in each case, be verified at other stages in the research.

44 It should be noted that in the case of Thiès the category of unskilled workers was much closer to that of semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers, largely employed by the railroad, comprise a more stable group than at Dakar.

[P. 14C] 7 [i.e. an exhibition of "lanterns" at the end of the year accompanied by recreational activities — See Category 116, P. 14A -- Analyst]

665
529
177
463
578

/433 cont. /

125 b) It was concerned with the "outer" garments of 4,772 women 14 years old and +, the majority of them Wolof and Lébou.

291 Except when the principal garment is of transparent material, it is very difficult to distinguish, not the underclothing in the European sense of the term, but masses of draped or fitted material, indispensable elements of feminine dress in tropical Africa.

2. Results.

a) Classical African clothing (boubous):

Table II

Dominant Colors	Voiles Tulles Orga- nies	Plain	Lace or Open- work	Printed Wax or Fancy	Dyed (Craft)	Woven (Craft)	Totals
Whites	262	117	81	--	--	--	460
Blacks	95	149	23	--	--	--	267
Violets and mauves	115	52	--	244	--	34	445
Indigos	--	106	--	463	426	--	995
Blues	131	15	20	61	--	--	227
Greens	11	24	--	73	--	--	108
Yellows	106	20	--	58	--	--	184
Oranges	11	3	--	100	--	21	135
Reds	20	3	--	28	--	10	61
Pinks	248	3	45	21	--	--	317
Garnets	13	--	--	9	--	--	22
Ochers	3	--	--	6	--	--	9
Maroons	128	16	4	576	--	--	724
Grays	3	--	9	36	--	--	48
Totals	1,146	508	182	1,675	426	65	4,002

/434/

291 b) Clothing of European inspiration (tailles-basses and
177 dresses):

Table III

	Tailles-basses			Voiles, Tulles, Organdies, Lace	Dresses						
	Printed	Others	Total		Plain	Printed Cotton	Printed W. and F.	Dyed	Fibranne	Nylon	Total
Whites	--	16	16	17	24	--	--	--	--	3	44
Blacks	--	--	--	21	22	--	--	--	--	--	43
Violets, mauves	11	--	11	19	5	--	50	--	--	--	74
Indigos	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	33	--	--	33
Blues	11	--	11	31	28	14	37	--	6	12	128
Greens	--	--	--	--	--	26	39	--	--	--	65
Yellows	--	--	--	--	--	--	38	--	7	--	45
Oranges	3	--	3	--	--	--	23	--	--	--	23
Reds	--	--	--	--	--	14	--	--	--	--	14
Pinks	3	--	3	12	5	--	34	--	--	10	61
Garnets	5	--	5	--	--	--	17	--	3	--	20
Ochers	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Maroons	49	--	49	--	--	--	87	--	9	--	96
Grays	--	--	--	--	--	--	26	--	--	--	26
	82	16	98	100	84	54	351	33	25	25	672

/Fibranne designates various artificial or synthetic fabrics whose fibers are short and connected by twisting, in contrast to rayon made of continuous fibers./

11: Lèques--6 P-5 (1956) 1957 MS37 Senegal MS37
/434/ DAKAR

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197

/435 cont. /

291 in vivid and distinct colors on an indigo background, without overlappings.

[288] -- the presence in Dakar of an industry which manufactures "guinées" /cotton cloth/ and "sucretons";

[386] -- the survival of a traditional craft of dyers that still had 142 representatives in 1955.

The family of maroons takes second place (18.09% of the boubous and 18.21% of the whole).

In third place we find the violets and mauves, and in practically the same place the whites (about 11% in each category).

b) Classical African style:

-- Clothing for display, the mboubou (1), or boubou.

[192]

1. Boubou is an incorrect pronunciation of the Wolof term mboubou = woman's clothing in general, a full simple tunic.

● [177] is always in favor (4,002 as against 770 garments of European inspiration, 83.86% as against 16.14%).

-- But in this category the Wax and Fancy printed fabrics are in regression (1,675 = 41.85% as against 2,412 = 56.52%).

291
177

c) Style of European inspiration:

-- The taille-basse, a kind of blouse that terminates at the waist in a circular flounce 20 to 25 centimeters wide, is combined either with a draped loincloth /pagne, a long strip of material/ or a sewed skirt. Most often the two pieces are made of the same material.

It is worn especially by the young girls (out of 52 women tested, 40 young girls, 25 of whom habitually wore tailles-basses).

-- The dress, worn by women of fashion in African life, is long in 99% of the cases.

/435 cont./

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177

It is sometimes difficult to differentiate it from the boubou when it is merely a long, sewed tunic.

It presents different variations (straight, pleated at the waist: round neck, square, etc.; its sleeves plain, puffed not reaching below the elbow).

/486/

291

d) Evolution:

In observing the different styles of clothing worn by women of different ages, one has a history of the evolution of the cut in the course of the last 20 years.

Among these 4,772 subjects, we have in fact noted at random: 4 women (from 50 to 55 years old), of whom:

2 wore 1 Fancy print boubou

+ 1 camisole

+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was made by a weaver

+ 1 Jacquard

+ 1 cotton print

2 -- 1 voile boubou

+ 1 camisole

+ 3 loincloths, of which 1 was from a weaver

1 Jacquard

1 Fancy

4 women from 40 to 50 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou

+ 1 cotton-print loincloth

+ 1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou

+ 1 Fancy dress

1 Fancy loincloth

1 -- 1 voile boubou

+ 1 Fancy dress

+ 1 Jacquard loincloth

4 women from 30 to 40 years old:

2 wore 1 voile boubou

+ 1 dress

1 -- 1 Fancy boubou

+ 1 dress

[8]

787
177 • All of the methods currently used in the different regions of Senegal to promote dreaming bear traces of the influence of Moslem beliefs, often distorted by local superstitions.

[91] For centuries the work of Mohamed Ibn-Sirina (died in 110 A.H.), an Arab scholar of old regarded as the foremost of the great mou'abbirs (interpreters of dreams) in the whole Moslem world, has served as the basis for this science. This work, supplied with few examples, brings together the most common types of interpretations and establishes universal rules that are still valid today.

Later, another Arab scholar (Chefka Abdoul Khaniyou of Nabili Chiyou) revised and completed the work of Ibn Sirina; he collected and classified the various dreams in logical categories according to their subject (things, animals, persons, supernatural beings ...) in an important work: Taatire El-Ana mbitâbir El-Manam (= To make the world happier by the interpretation of dreams). Subsequently, Eddemiri in his great work entitled Hayatou el-Hayaouan (in two volumes) has given precise and exhaustive interpretations concerning the dreams in which animals figure.

[99] These are the two sources of classical information most often utilized by the interpreters of Senegalese dreams. The traditional religion, however, continues to exert an indisputable influence upon them.

Some of the practices that we are going to point out [9] by means of examples show this same influence. Utilized to evoke dreams, one finds them throughout Senegal.

Place: It is always essential that the place where one lies down is the most suitable one possible. In a place where a Moslem may not pray, one cannot hope to have a dream.

In the canton of Kahône (Bas-Saloum [Lower Saloum]), a region little Islamized, the women go at night to lie down near the ancient tombs.

[178] The Ouolof [Wolof] of Cayor, with the same aim, visit the tomb of the great marabout El Hadj Malick Sy at Tivaouane; the people of Baol go to the one of Sérigne Amadou Bamba M'Backé at Touba in the region north of Diourbel.

Dakar

/24 cont./

b) These simplified data call for some commentary. What is the significance of the sometimes important differences that we affirm between the situations that prevail in the different strata?

369^x
592
565
594

The high proportion, among the farmers, of households that coincide with the restricted family -- a proportion clearly higher than the average -- is explained by the fact that we are dealing more with market-gardeners than with farmers of the traditional type (as are found in the suburban villages). In any case, the problem has not been studied for a sufficient number of cases for us to draw definitive conclusions here.

[241]

/25/ Besides this category, for which we lack certain explanatory factors, only two others noticeably exceed the average established for the whole population: on the one hand, the superior employees and functionaries; on the other hand, members of the teaching profession, doctors, etc. The important factor here is the degree of Westernization (1).

[177]•
[871]

1. The only categories whose members have all been to the French school.

It is only on this level that we have ascertained facts not only on the topological dispersion of the group of relatives, but also on the very clear loosening of the obligations flowing from kinship ties. Let us add that in reality the number of restricted families is much more important. In the majority of households which include one person in addition to the restricted family, this person is a domestic lodging with the family (who is sometimes a distant relative). The change in structure is therefore clearer than it would seem in view of the raw figures.

[357]

c) This first general view shows, as in other domains -- we shall see this soon for the structure of even the restricted family -- that the characteristics of the socio-occupational

369^x
565

Dakar

/25 cont. /

strata which we have defined do not depend on a single factor or on a series of factors in close correlation; it would be a simplification to establish a hierarchy based on certain criteria. There are in fact several scales. There is more or less complete participation in several socio-cultural contexts. We are dealing here with three principal groups:

369^x
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On the one hand, the categories of laborers and domestics, workers and artisans, master workmen, merchants, and, to a lesser degree, farmers and fishermen (2), where the

2. See above.

tendency toward familial regrouping is still very much alive. The extent of the familial group is as a whole a function of the possibilities for housing and of available finances (the maximum number of persons which a given number of salaried persons can support). It must likewise be noted that, in the case of autochthonous groups or groups originally from nearby regions, the frequency of neighboring and related households is much greater, and the tendency towards a reconstitution of the extended family /famille étendue/ manifests itself in a considerable number of cases.

[596]

On the other hand, the categories of the superior functionaries and employees and the teaching and intellectual professions, in which, if one keeps in mind the preceding remarks, one sees that the household tends in permanent fashion to include only the restricted family.

[594]

Finally, the category of subordinate employees and functionaries, intermediate between the two preceding groups, which is explained in particular by the composite character of this category; there, one /26/ finds elements (orderlies, beneficiaries of reserved employment in the administrative sector, etc.) clearly less Westernized, but their very superior living standard does not permit placing them in the category of laborers, whom they approximate in many aspects. The

[177]•

/74 cont. /

369 3. The establishment of industries (1923-1945).

498 The event which gave a decisive impulsion to the
[175] commercial escale and which brought Thies to the rank of a
city was without question the establishment of the railroad re-
pair shops in 1923. As early as 1907 the first work had been
undertaken to connect Thies to Bamako directly by rail;
difficulties of all kinds and then the war impeded it. In 1923
only the junction of the two sections had been made at
Kidira on the Falémé. There was some concern to have the
repair shops of the Thies-Niger established in the center
nearest the coast. Thies, head of the line, was chosen as
[162] the center. In a few years the city grew by 10,000 souls,
going from 3,000 inhabitants in 1921 to 13,000 in 1929.

369 The opening of the railroad yards not only brought about
441 the arrival of many workers and their families, but at the
same /75/ /Fig. 2 appears here/ time gave a strong impul-
sion to commerce. The regular injection of credits by this
new industry brought about a renewal of commercial activity
which showed in the expansion of the firms already estab-
lished and the creation of new stores. The Africans, who up
[472] to that time worked solely for the profit of firms under
[563] European management and who had been kept out of the re-
tail business, opened small shops for their own profit (4).

• [177] 4. It is the military, it seems, who
brought back from France this idea
of establishing for themselves small
grocery stores copied from those en-
countered in the villages of the mother
country.

The latter, appealing to an essentially native clientele,
multiplied as soon as the economic scope of the city in-
creased. At the same time the number of artisans increased.

[563] After the war, the Levantines, who had been the only
ones able to carry on commerce in complete tranquility for
four years, set up businesses for themselves. Their experience

/91 cont. /

369 industrial enterprises and in the public function. Even in a
563 professional category a certain hierarchy of a traditional
182 order survives and is always respected. In the workshops of
[565] the Dakar-Niger, for example, the higher supervisory staffs
[466] are made up of workers belonging to superior castes: free
men, descendants of chiefs' families. . . Operatives coming
from families of griots or former captives, in spite of their
skill at the work and their training, would have only very
weak authority over their subordinates.

[578] The animosities between individuals belonging to
formerly hostile groups or to opposed religious sects may
sometimes reappear in the course of contacts between in-
dividuals or groups of individuals. Along the same line
[466] of thought, a certain favoritism may creep into the relations
between foreman and subordinates belonging to the same
ethnic category or the same religion.

369 Within each ethnic minority scattered through the
563 city spontaneous associations spring up, led by the oldest
573 among them. These friendly groups meet periodically. They
are at the bottom of the mutual aid to the newcomer, to the
workman who lives temporarily without funds in the escale.
Each of these gatherings is at the same time the occasion for
"folkloristic" celebrations, reminding the members of the
group of their customs and their country of origin.

369 The traditions which have been able to survive by
177 being adapted to the new conditions of the society lose
563 their importance to a certain extent in contact with new
ideas and Western influence. We have already remarked
that the notion of ethnic group is rapidly obliterated when the
individual is transplanted for a long time in a city very far
from his natal village. The family ties, and above all the
[593] authority of the head of the family over each of its members,
become extremely loose in the city. We see a breaking up
of the subordination that subjected each of the members of a
family to the paternal authority. The child is no longer
compelled to adopt the trade of his father; he may choose
the work that he thinks will suit him. The young girl is
[584] rapidly becoming emancipated, and rare are the Thiès

/91 cont. /

369 families in which the father imposes on the child the spouse
 177 of his choice. The spread of the teaching of the Moslem and
 563 Christian religions count for much in this loosening of the
 584 too confining ties of family tradition. This breaking up of
 593 ancient, too narrow social structures is not a strictly /92/
 182 urban phenomenon; it also occurs in the countryside, but
 with less force and with a certain delay.

369 The presence of the industrial bloc of the Dakar-Niger,
 565 on the other hand, has had as an effect the formation of a
 178 working class, which is a specifically urban phenomenon.
 Although the ancient system of castes does exist in human
 contacts, that of social class is little by little being substi-
 tuted for it. In sum, there actually exists a superposition
 of the two systems, but the pre-eminence of the second is al-
 177 ready being affirmed. Through daily contacts and the rapid
 467 diffusion of social ideas coming from the West, the mass of
 474 workers is organized, it is grouped by syndicates, it has set up
 consumer co-operatives. Because of the great number of
 the members of this worker group, the workshops of the
 Dakar-Niger and, through repercussion, the city of Thiès
 itself have become the most active and the busiest centers
 of French West Africa. The strike that in 1948 paralyzed
 468 railroad traffic on the two lines (Dakar-Bamako and Dakar--
 Saint-Louis) for several months is certainly proof of the in-
 fluence of a powerful and organized grouping, and a typical
 urban phenomenon.

369 Thus there exists in Thiès a somewhat special social
 563 climate that sometimes makes the relations between Whites
 578 and Blacks strained. Chiefly during these periods of social
 crises. But these tensions are always temporary and automati-
 cally disappear as soon as the conflict is settled.

369 A much more important problem that seems general
 161 in all of the cities of Black Africa is that of the too rapid, if
 not excessive, swelling of the urban population. We have
 162 seen that the population of Thiès has almost doubled from
 1945 (24,000 inhabitants) to 1953 (40,000 inhabitants).
 Dakar, Conakry, and Abidjan have grown in the same
 proportions.

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Since the "campaign" of 1959-60, the commercial production of groundnuts in Senegal has reached 720,000 metric tons of groundnuts in the shell. In 1957-58, there was a record year with 830,000 metric tons. Since for these recent years the total production of food products can be estimated at about 550,000 metric tons, the proportion of 1,800 kilograms of groundnuts harvested per metric ton of food products, advanced in 1951 by M. Portères, is very close to the Senegalese economic reality (1).

[113]

1. For this information we have consulted: Barbier, J., "L'économie de l'arachide au Sénégal, Contribution à l'Étude du marché français des huiles alimentaires /The economy of the groundnut in Senegal, Contribution to the study of the French marketing of food oils/," typewritten thesis for the doctorate in law, Lille, 20 May 1960, 475 pp.

A.O.F. 57: Tableaux économiques /French West Africa 57: Economic Tables/. Haut-Commissariat de la République en A.O.F. Direction des Services économiques et du plan, 412 pp.

Outre-Mer 58: Service statistique d'Outre-Mer /Oversea 58: Oversea Statistical Service/. P.U.F. 1960.

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The groundnut is originally from America; Jean de Léry, a French clergyman, described this plant around 1855, under the name of "manoki," as a crop of the region of Rio. In the seventeenth century Père Plumier noted it for the Antilles. The Portuguese slave-dealers seem to have imported it to Africa around the middle of the sixteenth century. The natives of Senegambia were soon cultivating it around their huts, and as

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244 early as 1560 Alvarez de Almada speaks of the abundant harvests of mantiga eaten fresh by the Mandingue /Mandingo/. In 1840 a Paris chemist, Rousseau, discovered the wealth of oil in the groundnut. In 1841 the brig "Zénith" transported 70 metric tons of nuts to Rouen. Protêt and Faidherbe encouraged this crop, which, in the framework of the colonial economic system, progressed rapidly from the coast toward the interior, thanks to the possibilities of the natural environment.

132 From the Senegal River in the north to the Casamance in the south, the climate of the country changes by successive transitions from Sahelian characteristics to Sudanese aspects. A long dry season of nine months in the north, shorter in the south, from October or December to May-June, contrasts with a "winter season" of three to five months, depending on the region. The frequency and the importance of the precipitations increase from north to south. They go from 350 millimeters in the region of Louga to 1,200 millimeters in that of Ziguinchor. Whereas the coast is moistened by the humid trade wind, the Ferlo to the east is like a desert. These conditions are nearly /6/ ideal for a plant whose vegetative cycle is short -- about 120 days -- and which germinates easily in a slightly moistened soil, develops under heavy rains, and bears fruit best during the dry days that follow.

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244 The soil conditions also seem to be wholly favorable. The plant is not very demanding with respect to fertility; essentially it requires a light soil, because the fructification is underground. The silico-argillaceous soils of the center of Senegal (the dek of the Ouoloff /Wolof/) and the sandy soils of the north (the dior of the Ouoloff) suit the groundnut perfectly.

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311 The expansion of the area of cultivation, from the coast and the estuaries toward the interior, has been led by the railroads. The Dakar--Saint-Louis railroad, built in 1885, explains the essential role of Cayor in groundnut production at the beginning of the century, since it was along the Dakar-Niger line, achieved in 1888, that the groundnut front progressed toward the east. Today this front, which in the south has broken into the

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244 tasks by hand; they promise to respect the rotations prescribed
654 by the experimental section.

b) The experience of the C. G. O. T. in Casamance began in 1948. Within the framework of the first plan, the Compagnie générale des oléagineux tropicaux /General Company of Tropical Oily Substances/ acquired vast areas of land in the region of Séfa, upstream from Sedhiou. Powerful equipment permitted this society of mixed economy to clear 4,000 hectares of woodland. At great expense the company recruited some European technicians and local labor receiving wages higher than the average. The experience of total mechanization met very grave difficulties: clearing woodland is very ticklish, because carapaces are found at a shallow depth, the equipment wears out very quickly, and the administrative expenses are very high; and then, when yields of 2,000 kilograms of groundnuts per hectare are anticipated, only 1,200 are obtained. The company had to modify its policy. The lands were divided among the "colonists," who promised to respect a millet or rice-groundnut rotation. The company cultivated the rice mechanically and kept the harvest. It proceeded to the more difficult tasks in connection with the groundnuts and collected in exchange 450 kilograms of shells per hectare thus cultivated. The millet went to the colonists.

c) The Murid chiefs of the region of Djourbel also had an experience with mechanization. In fact some of them, enriched by the "gifts" from the faithful, acquired equipment and in the new lands undertook mechanized cultivation of the groundnut in imitation of the example of Boulel. This system, without considering the dangers of the deterioration of the soil, seems dangerous from the social point of view, because it may strengthen the hold of the marabouts on the faithful, who become ordinary laborers.

In fact the experiences with mechanized cultivation have been dismissed because of a check on how much one could anticipate a generalized use of machinery. Nevertheless, in sum, these modest attempts have not been as catastrophic

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SENEGAL AND THE DISTRICT OF DAKAR

Courts of Law

692 The Court of Assize sits at Dakar, and the Tribunals of First Instance sit at Dakar, Kaolack, and St. Louis. There is a Magistrate's Court at Ziguinchor, and there are Moslem Courts at Dakar, Rufisque, and St. Louis. In each province and full commune there are the usual native courts, and the Colonial Court of Appeal for Senegal sits at St. Louis. There is a separate one for the District of Dakar.

In addition to the local courts, the West African Court of Appeal and the Supreme Native Court of Appeal are both held at Dakar.

Native Organization

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● 197 All the old chiefdoms and kingdoms have now disappeared. On the other hand, owing to their representation on the Colonial Council, chiefs in Senegal to-day exercise greater influence than in other colonies. They are appointed and paid by the Government, and they can usually be relied on to supply an official majority. In 1925 they induced the Government to raise their salaries, which now range from 7,600 francs to 36,500 francs per annum. The chiefs are divided into no less than twelve grades. Most of them have [87] been educated at the École des Fils des Chefs et des Interprètes at St. Louis.

Land Tenure

423 By 31 December 1937 provisional concessions had been granted over an area of 12 square miles and concessions over 15 square miles. By the same date there had been granted under the immatriculation system 9,630 certificates of title, covering 177 square miles. Under the process of Confirmation of Native Land Rights, 40 certificates had been granted, covering $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. These figures are very small for the size and population of the colony.

Labour

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[46] The Colonial Council is responsible for the fact that forced labour has been redeemable by every person since 1921. This reform did not become universal in the Federation till several years later. In 1930 a resolution of the same council compelled owners of motor vehicles to lend them for work under the same system.

In 1935 there were 408,000 persons on the forced labour rolls, 1,415,000 man-days were worked, and 561,300 francs were paid in